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Fifty-first Year

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New York

President:	Mr. Legwaila	(Botswana)
Members:	Chile	Mr. Somavía
	China	Mr. He Yafei
	Egypt	Mr. Awaad
	France	Mr. Dejammet
	Germany	Mr. Eitel
	Guinea-Bissau	Mr. Mano Queta
	Honduras	Mr. Martínez Blanco
	Indonesia	Mr. Wibisono
	Italy	Mr. Ferrarin
	Poland	Mr. Włosowicz
	Republic of Korea	Mr. Park
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Gomersall
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1996/149)

96-85220 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 5.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning Rwanda

Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (S/1996/149)

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Rwanda, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda) took a seat at the Council table.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, document S/1996/149.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1996/177, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following other documents: S/1996/132, letter dated 23 February 1996 from the Chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Permanent Mission of Zaire to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/1996/176, letter dated 6 March 1996 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting the text of a letter dated 1 March 1996 from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda addressed to the Secretary-General.

The first speaker is the representative of Rwanda, on whom I now call.

Mr. Bakuramutsa (Rwanda): My delegation would like to thank the Secretary-General for his report of 29 February 1996 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. The report shows a positive evolution of the political and economic situation in Rwanda.

At the close of the United Nations peace-keeping mission in Rwanda, UNAMIR leaves behind a country and citizens determined to rebuild a new Rwanda and assume fully their responsibility for a better future.

In spite of the catastrophe that affected the country and resulted in the loss of one-eighth of its population and the total destruction of the economic infrastructure, the judicial system and Rwandese society, I must admit, with great pride, that Rwanda has risen from its ashes with all the indications of becoming an even stronger nation and a credible partner.

The achievements since the genocide have been major ones. The Rwandese people have succeeded in laying the foundation of a new society by setting up a coalition Government and a Parliament which are representative of all political groups. This is a major sign of the beginning of a process of national reconciliation.

For the first time the Government of Rwanda has established a policy of repatriation of refugees. Before 1994 more than a million Rwandese refugees lived outside the country. Those refugees were denied their right to return to their homeland by the former regime, which, moreover, organized, planned and masterminded the genocide.

The present Government is committed to the unconditional return of all Rwandese nationals to their motherland. The Government has translated its commitment to the return of refugees into action through the following measures: advocating national reconciliation; the restoration of security within our borders; discouraging revenge through enforcement of law and order; promoting a culture of transparency by allowing UNAMIR, non-governmental organizations, human rights monitors and the media freedom of movement throughout the country; enforcement of laws governing property rights; and resettlement and reintegration of returnees into the civil service, the national army and other areas of economic life.

These measures have already led to the return of the phenomenal number of 2.3 million refugees in only one year, including the former refugees who had been outside the country since 1959.

On the issues of justice and human rights, the rehabilitation of the judicial system continues to be one of the main priorities of the Government of Rwanda. Some action has been taken in adopting appropriate legislation. At the end of 1995, 643 judicial personnel were trained.

Regarding the future, the Government and people of Rwanda look forward to the effective implementation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda as a major step in healing the wounds of genocide. Only true justice would allow Rwanda to heal and rebuild a new society.

Concerning internal security, the Government of Rwanda has already started to reorganize and strengthen the gendarmerie and the police, and it intends to proceed with the demobilization of part of the army.

Economically, significant progress has been made in just one year since the January 1995 donors' round-table conference for the reconstruction of Rwanda. The gross domestic product increased by 20 per cent in 1995, after a recession of 40 per cent in 1994, reaching three-fourths of the level of the gross domestic product before the crisis.

These achievements have been accomplished with the support of some countries which did not hesitate to help Rwanda's reconstruction efforts. Among them, I would like to make special mention of Ireland, whose President has honoured Rwanda with two official visits — and the Netherlands and Germany, which have given appreciable assistance to Rwanda. The contributions of the United Kingdom and the United States have also been greatly appreciated. Our gratitude is also extended to Italy and Spain for their support.

Belgium, with its historic links to Rwanda, also made a contribution to the reconstruction of the country. I would also like to thank Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Japan, Sweden and Switzerland for their tremendous support.

The delegation of Rwanda would like to thank countries which contributed troops to UNAMIR. I would like also to pay homage to the soldiers who lost their lives while trying to protect or to save the lives of Rwandese during the genocide, especially the Belgian soldiers who were assassinated by the genocidal regime.

Finally, I would like to pay homage to UNAMIR's Chief Commander, General Dallaire, for his efforts and those of his staff in Rwanda during the genocide.

The people of Rwanda thank all UNAMIR's personnel and the Secretary-General's Special Representative for what they have accomplished in Rwanda. Special mention must also be made of the efforts of the numerous African Governments that are setting a good example for the international community by arresting those accused of genocide in Rwanda. The Government of Rwanda would also like to express its gratitude to the eminent African figures and the leaders of African regional and subregional organizations, all of whom are playing a major role in helping to resolve the problems faced by Rwanda and the subregion. They are demonstrating the importance of dialogue in the reconciliation process.

Above all, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Rwandese people, who were repressed by a totalitarian regime that victimized them with repeated massacres, crowned by genocide. Homage must be paid to the survivors who have succeeded in living in harmony with others without taking revenge. And we must not forget the Rwandese who continue to exist in refugee camps against their will, prisoners of the perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

Special homage must be paid also to those Rwandese who stopped the genocide.

We take this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for recommending the establishment of UNAMIR to the Security Council. We hope that the Secretariat will engage in a serious analysis of its most recent experience with UNAMIR in Rwanda in recent years — before and after the genocide. There is a need for a truthful and honest analysis, and a need to ensure that the right lessons are learnt from the worst experience a nation can face. These lessons will serve not only Rwanda, but all African countries — and all developing countries — which could face the same situation.

The Rwandese Government has done its duty with regard to UNAMIR. It is therefore with pride that the Government of Rwanda hands the UNAMIR troops back to the United Nations who served in Rwanda in a generally secure environment. In turn, we expect the Secretariat to comply with its obligation to Rwanda. Some of the issues raised by my Government have never received satisfactory attention. We would be grateful to

the Secretariat if appropriate solutions could be found to the remaining problems linked to UNAMIR.

As a follow-up to UNAMIR, the Government of Rwanda has accepted the most realistic proposal — from the Secretary-General — which is to maintain a small political office to support the Government's efforts to strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. It is an ambitious programme, but my Government will give all necessary support to that office, and is looking forward to defining, together with the Secretariat, the office's mandate.

In conclusion, the people and the Government of Rwanda are determined to work towards the reconstruction of their country and for the healing of Rwandese society. All cooperation in this area is welcome.

Mr. Ferrarin (Italy): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union. Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia associate themselves with this statement.

As the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) prepares to leave Rwanda, we must first of all recognize the great dedication of the Secretary-General; of his Special Representative, Ambassador Shaharyar Khan; of the Force Commander; of all the troop-contributing countries, and of the Blue Helmets themselves. Their devotion in carrying out, under trying circumstances, the tasks they were assigned deserves our utmost praise.

The report of the Secretary-General tells us that relative calm and stability prevail throughout Rwanda and that the country has made significant progress towards a return of normal living conditions. However, a number of serious outstanding issues remain unresolved: the return of refugees, the rehabilitation of the judicial system — and the related issue of overcrowding in the prisons — should be addressed as a matter of priority, in order to achieve national reconciliation and thus the necessary future stability.

The European Union wishes to underline once again the importance of the International Tribunal, which is fundamental to restoring a climate of trust and confidence in Rwanda. In this respect, we underline the need to assure protection for its personnel and its premises.

The European Union has supported the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Rwanda from the outset, and we agree with the assessment made by the Secretary-General in his report that Rwanda could have greatly benefited from a further phase of United Nations involvement in helping to consolidate peace and security. The Rwandan authorities, though, have decided that the time has come to address the problems differently. In this respect, we welcome Kigali's agreement to maintain a United Nations office, to be headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We strongly believe that the international community will continue to contribute to Rwanda's efforts towards full normalization. As in the past, the European Union — which is the largest donor, in terms both of humanitarian and of development assistance — is ready to offer its concrete contributions towards this end.

One of the main priorities of the future United Nations presence in Rwanda will remain supporting the efforts of the Kigali Government to promote national reconciliation. The draft resolution on which the Security Council is about to vote clearly addresses this concern. The office — which will rightly include the present United Nations communications system and radio station — will serve the purpose of supporting the Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. The office will also play a useful role in coordinating all United Nations efforts towards this end.

We note with satisfaction the continuation of the United Nations human rights operation in Rwanda, which has the full support of the Kigali authorities. The European Union attaches fundamental importance to this activity, as is made manifest by the fact that it is currently contributing most of the funding of the operation.

I shall conclude by stressing, once again, the importance the European Union attaches to the continuation of efforts for the careful preparation and convening of a Regional Conference for Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region, of which mention is made in the draft resolution. I wish to recall, in this regard, the recent appointment of Mr. Aldo Ajello as special envoy of the European Union for the Great Lakes region.

The travails that Rwanda has undergone over the past two years cannot be overstated, but massive challenges still remain, of which the greatest is the safe return of refugees. We believe that the United Nations

must continue to play its part in addressing these challenges. We therefore welcome the draft resolution.

The President: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Somavía (Chile) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We are grateful to the representative of Rwanda for his statement, and particularly for the conviction with which he told us of his country's determination to overcome the legacy of the tragedy it has suffered in recent years.

One of the most difficult decisions that the Security Council faces in the course of its work relates to the timeliness of taking action: when it should be involved in an issue, or withdraw, and how it is to do so — what in English is called "timing".

Unfortunately, Rwanda has acquired in the eyes of international public opinion the image of one of those occasions when action was taken too late to prevent genocide, which the whole world grieved over. We hope that the decision we are about to take, at the request of the Government of Rwanda, is the right one.

The Secretary-General in his report of 29 February 1996 refers to the situation in Rwanda, stating that calm and stability have continued to prevail throughout the country, with the exception of areas bordering Zaire. He adds that since the end of the war various economic and social indicators have improved substantially, which in principle gives the Security Council confidence in its decision last December to put an end to the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) today. We congratulate Rwanda on this development.

UNAMIR's mandate does indeed end today. This should be a source of satisfaction to the people and Government of Rwanda, and to the international community, since the conclusion of a United Nations peace-keeping operation should indicate that its mission has been fulfilled and that the situation in the country is returning to normal. The Government of Chile sincerely hopes that this is the scenario for Rwanda.

As UNAMIR concludes its mandate we must pay public tribute to those who have been part of it: to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Shaharyar Khan; to General Romeo Dallaire, General Guy Tousignant and Brigadier-General Shiva Kumar, who recently commanded the peace-keeping force; and to the troops, observers and other personnel of UNAMIR from various countries, among which India, Ghana, Nigeria and Malawi stand out, because of their numbers. We do not forget Canada, which withdrew a short time ago, and Belgium, which suffered serious losses.

UNAMIR has assisted the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in the repatriation of refugees; provided protection to the International Tribunal for Rwanda; and helped to restore the basic infrastructure and to rehabilitate essential sectors of the economy. The Secretary-General reports that in addition UNAMIR by its presence has provided a sense of security and confidence to the personnel of the different agencies working in the country.

None the less, the Secretary-General also reminds us that some important problems remain to be resolved. The main one — undoubtedly the most serious, the most complex and the one which could bring the most problems in future — is that of the 1.7 million refugees. It is also noteworthy that much remains to be done in order to achieve major national reconciliation.

Taking into consideration the expressed desire of the Government of Rwanda and the points made by the Secretary-General in his report, the Security Council is about to adopt a draft resolution that Chile supports. Before referring to some aspects of it, I would like to thank the United Kingdom delegation for the submission of its draft and for the broad consultations on the draft resolution now before us.

With the aim of continuing the United Nations presence in Rwanda, and continuing to cooperate with the Government of Rwanda in carrying out the difficult tasks that are still outstanding, the Security Council encourages the Secretary-General to maintain in Rwanda a United Nations office, to be headed by his Special Representative, for the purpose of supporting the efforts of the Government of Rwanda to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure, and of coordinating all the United Nations efforts in Rwanda to that end.

I believe it is important to mention here an explicit reference by the Secretary-General to the problem of refugees. We should remember that the Government of Rwanda and the UNHCR will no longer have the support of the UNAMIR contingent in the return of refugees. An appeal is therefore made to all the States and agencies concerned to provide humanitarian assistance to the refugees and displaced persons, and to facilitate their early safe, voluntary and organized return to their own country.

There is another aspect which we feel is of special importance. It must be borne in mind that one agency that could cooperate in this process is the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR), which is doing commendable work and is deployed in 10 of the 11 prefectures. If coordination with the United Nations office, the UNHCR and the Government of Rwanda is to continue with the efficiency that has existed so far, the Human Rights Field Operation must have the necessary resources. This is reflected in the draft resolution.

I wish to conclude by saying that Chile is pleased to support this draft resolution. It would be major progress if the situation in Rwanda ceased to be on the Council's agenda and if instead there were a significant strengthening of the commitment to Rwanda by the rest of the United Nations system and other intergovernmental and non-governmental agencies, in the framework of an agenda for the country's development.

Making this a reality will be in the good hands of the people and leaders of Rwanda.

Mr. Eitel (Germany): Germany of course supports the statement Italy made on behalf of the European Union, and I do not wish to duplicate it.

In his last report on UNAMIR the Secretary-General says:

> "When Rwanda emerged from civil war and genocide with the establishment of the Government of National Unity on 19 July 1994, conditions in the country were nothing short of disastrous." *(S/1996/149, para. 41)*

We fully agree with his assessment. It therefore comes as a relief that the Secretary-General goes on to say:

> "Today, conditions in Rwanda are returning to normal". *(Ibid., para. 42)*

We also agree with him that this progress has been achieved essentially through the efforts of the people of Rwanda.

At the same time, we think it is appropriate today, when the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda comes to an end, to pay tribute to all those who have served in and supported this mission. We also acknowledge the work done by Ambassador Khan, the Secretary General's Special Representative, and his staff. The many hours the Council has spent in the past discussing the situation in Rwanda would not have borne very much fruit had not the men and women in the field done their duty, and often more than that.

The relationship between the Government of Rwanda, the United Nations and the international community in a broader sense has not always been easy. After intensive discussions with Rwanda, the Council decided in resolution 1029 (1995) that UNAMIR should be withdrawn from Rwanda after 8 March 1996. At that time it seemed to us that after this date there would not be much scope for United Nations peace-building activities in Rwanda. In the meantime, in his letter (S/1996/176/annex) of 1 March 1996 addressed to the Secretary-General, the Rwandese Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation clearly stated the need for what he rightly calls "post-genocide peace building". Germany welcomes his statement. It enabled the Security Council to draft the draft resolution before us, which is based on Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter.

The draft resolution is a response to the fact, that despite all the progress made, much remains to be done in Rwanda, and that the assistance of the international community continues to be needed in this regard. The maintenance of a United Nations office will allow the United Nations to support, in a coordinated manner, what the Government of Rwanda is doing to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure.

In this context, we stress the importance of the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda, which constitutes a true confidence-building measure. The inclusion of the present United Nations radio station in the United Nations office will also contribute to the continued dissemination of constructive information. The present United Nations communications system will continue to operate in the framework of the United

Nations office, and thus offer much-needed support for those involved in the reconstruction of Rwanda.

Individual Governments and organizations other than the United Nations are called upon to continue their own efforts in assisting Rwanda. Germany has in the past made its contribution, totalling about $200 million. I gratefully acknowledge the thanks of our Rwandese colleagues. Germany will also do its utmost to help in the future.

We welcome the fact that remaining elements of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda will, prior to their withdrawal, contribute to the protection of the International Tribunal for Rwanda. After their withdrawal new arrangements will need to be agreed upon.

In his last report on UNAMIR, the Secretary-General announced, in response to a request made by the Security Council that he would shortly submit recommendations to the General Assembly regarding non-lethal UNAMIR equipment that can be released for use in Rwanda. This intention is fully in line with the purpose of the draft resolution; the release of UNAMIR equipment will be a contribution to the rehabilitation efforts in Rwanda. The General Assembly will have to decide on the scope of this measure. This decision will be taken on the basis of existing rules and regulations. It is our hope, however, that the decision will also take into account the tremendous needs of Rwanda in this respect. The German Government is currently discussing with the United Nations Secretariat pragmatic options for the release of German equipment for further use in Rwanda.

Germany will vote for the adoption of the draft resolution.

Mr. Gomersall (United Kingdom): The mind cannot easily erase the tragic events of 1994 in Rwanda. Rwanda has taken significant steps forward since then, and it is a tribute to the people and Government of Rwanda that the Secretary-General's recent report talks of the climate of relative normality and stability which now prevails.

The United Nations and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda have played an important part in helping to restore confidence and stability in Rwanda, and it is right that the Security Council should pay tribute today, on the expiry of the final mandate of that Force, to all those who have served in it. The draft resolution before the Council also addresses aspects of UNAMIR's withdrawal. We attach particular importance to the continued protection which UNAMIR will provide to the personnel and premises of the International Tribunal until the withdrawal is complete. We also attach importance to early clarification from the Secretariat of the precise arrangements for protection of the Tribunal which will be put in place after that withdrawal.

Another question addressed in the draft resolution is that of UNAMIR equipment, some of which may be left in Rwanda. It is very important that United Nations rules be followed in this area, but within those rules we hope that flexibility can be shown and ways found to benefit Rwanda.

The central purpose of the draft resolution, however, is to place the weight of this Council behind the Secretary-General's proposal, now agreed by the Government of Rwanda in the welcome letter of 1 March from Foreign Minister Gasana, to the continued maintenance of the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Rwanda. We have also heard the welcome words of the Permanent Representative of Rwanda today, expressing his Government's cooperation with the Secretary-General's office.

There is much that the United Nations can and should continue to do in Rwanda to assist that country in facing the challenges of reconstruction, national reconciliation and the return of refugees. We foresee the United Nations office playing a central role in this work. We think it important that it include the present United Nations radio station. We encourage the Government and people of Rwanda to cooperate closely with the Special Representative and his staff as they pursue the goals set out in the draft resolution.

While stability in Rwanda is the responsibility of the Government of Rwanda, the neighbouring States have their responsibilities as well. We therefore encourage all States in the region to cooperate closely with each other, particularly in the return of refugees, to help bring about a real prospect of lasting peace and stability in the Great Lakes region.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Russian Federation has noted with satisfaction the partial stabilization in the situation in Rwanda that has occurred. We are pleased that the Rwandan people, after enduring the horrors of a genocide unprecedented in contemporary history, are gradually returning to normal life. In this regard, we pay due tribute to the efforts of the Government of Rwanda,

which, despite the most difficult conditions, has been able to achieve a number of positive results.

However, many problems have yet to be solved. The most acute of these is the problem of almost 2 million displaced persons and refugees, who, as the Secretary-General points out in his report, constitute one of the highest concentrations of refugees in the world. And as a result, there is still a potential threat of destabilization.

Obviously, this complex, large-scale problem can scarcely be properly resolved without the active cooperation of the international community. We therefore consider it appropriate to maintain a limited United Nations presence in Rwanda even after the final expiry today of the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). We attach importance to the decision to establish, in agreement with the Government of Rwanda, a United Nations political office in that country to support the Rwandan Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. It is also important that the maintenance of a United Nations presence should be a major factor in strengthening confidence and stability. It would also ensure that the United Nations would be able to keep abreast of developments in the situation and learn in good time of any risk of a deterioration.

We expect that the withdrawal of the major components of UNAMIR will be carried out according to schedule. We trust in this regard that the safety of the personnel of the International Tribunal, the specialized agencies and other international organizations and that of human rights observers — all of whose activities are of great significance in assisting the Rwandan Government's efforts to cope with the aftermath of genocide and civil war — will be assured.

On the whole, the Russian delegation believes that the draft resolution before the Security Council is adequate to the situation in Rwanda and to the requirements of a substantively new phase in the relationship between the Government of that country and the international community. We shall therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Park (Republic of Korea): My delegation pays tribute to the men and women of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for the dedication with which they have successfully completed their mission under trying conditions. We also express our deep appreciation to the troop-contributing countries for their commitment and invaluable service to the cause of the peace, stability and rehabilitation of Rwanda.

As the mandate of UNAMIR finally draws to a close, we are pleased to note the relative calm and stability prevailing in Rwanda. While acknowledging that the credit for this progress goes to the people of Rwanda, who have now assumed full responsibility for their own future, to paraphrase the representative of Rwanda, UNAMIR's indispensable role in consolidating peace and stability in Rwanda should not be overlooked. It is the climate of confidence and security created by the very presence of UNAMIR that has facilitated the rapid economic rehabilitation and the return to normalcy reported by the Secretary-General.

However, the improvement of the situation in Rwanda should not be taken for granted. There is a lot to be done if peace and stability is to take firm root and be made irreversible. Among a number of outstanding issues that need to be addressed, the most serious challenge confronting Rwanda today lies in the return and resettlement of the 1.7 million refugees sheltered in neighbouring countries. This is a matter which requires the firm commitment of the Government of Rwanda and continued international support. Lasting peace and stability will be elusive as long as the issue of refugees remains unresolved.

We underline the vital role and responsibility of the Government of Rwanda in fostering a climate of confidence, security and trust so as to facilitate the safe and voluntary return of refugees. We also consider it most important that States act in accordance with the recommendations adopted by the Conference on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons in the Great Lakes Region, held at Bujumbura in February 1995, the Summit of Heads of States of the Great Lakes region held at Cairo in November 1995 and the follow-up conference of 29 February 1996 held at Addis Ababa.

My delegation attaches great importance to the rule of law, justice and security as central issues in rebuilding the social fabric of Rwanda. In this context, we welcome the assistance of the United Nations Development Programme in the rehabilitation of the justice system and the police training programme, as referred to in paragraphs 33 and 35 of the Secretary-General's report contained in document S/1996/149. The effective

operation of the International Tribunal for Rwanda is also essential in putting an end to the culture of impunity.

Peace and stability in Rwanda will remain fragile unless the country's socio-economic needs are properly addressed. Given that Rwanda cannot meet this challenge alone, we attach great importance to continued international support for Rwanda's economic rehabilitation and reconstruction. In this connection, the role of donor countries and United Nations agencies is essential.

In view of those challenges of the post-UNAMIR era confronting Rwanda, we believe that the United Nations has a vital role to play in Rwanda even after the expiration of UNAMIR's mandate. In this regard, we welcome the agreement of the Rwandan Government to the establishment of a United Nations office for the purpose of supporting that Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure. We believe that the maintenance of even a small United Nations office will have symbolic as well as practical significance, especially in demonstrating the United Nations commitment to lasting peace and stability and to the post-conflict reconstruction of the country. We request the Secretary-General to make the necessary arrangements for the establishment of a United Nations office in full consultation with the Government of Rwanda.

We also welcome the Rwandan Government's wish to maintain the presence of the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR) after the withdrawal of UNAMIR. We believe the continued role of HRFOR is essential in creating an environment of security conducive to the return of refugees and to their resettlement.

The withdrawal of UNAMIR raises concern about the safety and security of United Nations personnel and other international staff serving in Rwanda. We would like to remind the Government of Rwanda of its responsibility for their safety and security. The protection of the personnel and premises of the International Tribunal for Rwanda is a matter of particular concern to all of us. My delegation would like to request the Secretary-General also to make the necessary arrangements to that end.

Regarding the disposition of UNAMIR's non-lethal equipment, arising from the withdrawal of UNAMIR, we would like to request the Secretary-General to give due consideration to the needs of Rwanda and to exert maximum flexibility in the application of the relevant rules in submitting his recommendations to the General Assembly.

Noting with satisfaction that the foregoing points are adequately reflected in the draft resolution before the Council, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

Mr. Queta (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation takes this opportunity to thank the Secretary-General for the fine report he has submitted to the Security Council on the situation in Rwanda, pursuant to resolution 1029 (1995) of 12 December 1995. In that resolution, the Security Council extended the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) for a final period until 8 March 1996.

My delegation also wishes to express its gratitude to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Rwanda, the Organization of African Unity, the humanitarian organizations, former Presidents Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania and Amadou Toumani Touré of Mali for their efforts in the quest for peace, stability and national reconciliation for the people of Rwanda.

In the same spirit, it would be wrong of me if I neglected both to highlight and to praise the remarkable work of UNAMIR.

Given the draft resolution before us, we must ask ourselves if everything has been settled and if the United Nations has anything further to do in Rwanda. Our answer is that it does not. The situation is relatively clam and stable — with the exception of the areas near the borders with Zaire — and we note also that great progress has been made in agricultural and industrial output, improving health conditions and so on.

Nevertheless, we feel that there remain a number of problems to be solved with the assistance of the international community: *inter alia*, the return of refugees and help for them when they do; the restoration of the justice system; and improving conditions in the prisons. We must also take into account the need to protect representatives of international organizations, including those of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the non-governmental organizations.

My delegation believes that we must keep an eye on the activities of the elements of the former Rwandese Government Forces, who could in fact jeopardize peace and stability in the country. If the international community were to abandon the Rwandese people at this stage, the result might be disastrous and it would also send a bad political signal, one that would have dire consequences.

Given the fragile humanitarian situation and our concern for human rights, the international community still has a very important role to play in Rwanda. That is why my delegation supports the draft resolution before the Council, since we are now convinced that it will make it possible for the justice system to be strengthened — for the return of refugees to be facilitated; for the national infrastructure to be rehabilitated and, ultimately, because it will make national reconciliation possible. My delegation will therefore vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

Mr. He Yafei (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Rwanda is situated in the middle of Africa, is rich in natural resources and its people are renowned for their industry. As a result of the tireless efforts of the Government and people of Rwanda — and with the assistance of the international community, including the United Nations — that war-ravaged country has finally set out along the path of peace, reconstruction and development. Its industrial and agricultural outputs are gradually returning to normal, and its public transportation and water and electricity systems are being restored. In this regard, the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), in the two years of its existence, has, in cooperation with the Government of Rwanda, made its contribution to the restoration of peace and stability.

The core issue now for Rwanda is the achievement of national reconciliation, in which the repatriation of refugees remains the most important element. We should like to express our appreciation of and support for the efforts being made by the Government of Rwanda and the countries of the Great Lakes region in this regard.

At the request of the Government of Rwanda and in accordance with the provisions of the relevant Security Council resolutions, UNAMIR is about to withdraw from Rwanda. After it does, and with the consent of the Rwandan Government, the United Nations will establish a political office, through which the United Nations will support the Government's efforts to promote reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and help rebuild the country's infrastructure. We believe that this change is in the interests of the Rwandan people.

The Government and people of Rwanda are still faced with extremely difficult tasks. By relying first and foremost on themselves, they can facilitate the repatriation of refugees through national reconciliation. Also, the international community should continue, through the various means at its disposal, to show its concern for the people of Rwanda and should continue to help them achieve political and social stability. The draft resolution before the Council reflects this basic issue and, in line with our consistent position of supporting the peace process in Rwanda, the Chinese delegation will vote for it.

The people of Africa have had more than their share of conflict and turmoil and need a peaceful, united and stable internal and external environment. China has always followed developments in Africa very closely and believes that a stable and developed Africa is in the best interests of peace and stability for the whole world. China attaches great importance to Africa and supports the people of Africa in their struggle for self-reliance, for a peaceful environment and good governance; and for the reconstruction and development of their economies. And that is why we actively support the peace process in Rwanda.

Mr. Wlosowicz (Poland): Only a few days ago, the Security Council adopted a resolution concerning Burundi. Today, we are debating a draft resolution on Rwanda, another country in the Great Lakes region. What unites these resolutions is their common purpose: ensuring peace and stability in this extremely volatile part of Africa.

We welcome the increasing signs of normalcy in the internal situation in Rwanda and also the improvement in Rwanda's relations with its neighbours. We value the positive role that the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) has played in restoring a climate of relative stability in the country after its terrible experience of civil war and genocide. We pay a tribute to the UNAMIR personnel, who have made great efforts to help Rwanda recover, and who have worked in extremely difficult conditions. Although we are encouraged by the progress towards normalcy in Rwanda, we must not lose sight of a number of issues, which, if they are to be solved, require particular attention and urgent action on the part of the Rwandese Government, with the assistance of the international community.

The voluntary and safe return of the 1.7 million Rwandan refugees is the most important factor for progress towards national reconciliation, and, at the same time, a return is essential if the general security situation in the Great Lakes region is to be improved. We remain seriously concerned at the slow pace of the voluntary repatriation process, which still lacks the necessary momentum. The underlying causes of the refugees' unwillingness to return home can be addressed only by the Government of Rwanda, by restoring peace and stability and promoting a climate of confidence and trust within the country. This can be achieved only by improving the workings of the judicial system and by strengthening law enforcement.

Since the disaster of 1994, Rwanda has faced the huge tasks of economic recovery, reviving its administrative and educational systems and rebuilding its public utilities. The international community, together with UNAMIR, has supported the steps taken by Rwanda in areas that are vital for the future of the country. Today we can welcome the Rwandan Government's assurances that it will succeed in dealing with all the tasks I have mentioned, and we recognize its pre-eminent role in that process. After all, it is the Government that must assume primary responsibility for reconstructing Rwanda and for ensuring genuine national reconciliation.

Nevertheless, we believe that, notwithstanding the imminent end of UNAMIR, in view of the enormity of the tasks that must be carried out in Rwanda, the United Nations should have a presence there. We would even have been willing to consider extending UNAMIR's mission to continue a peace-keeping type of operation.

Out of respect for the Rwandan Government's commendable efforts to reconstruct its country, we are in favour of maintaining a United Nations office in Rwanda with the aim of supporting the Rwandan Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, facilitate the return of refugees, improve the judicial system, rehabilitate the country's transport, communications and other infrastructure, coordinate the activities of relief organizations; the office would also have the task of monitoring the situation there.

In our view, the mandate of the United Nations office in Rwanda, as set out in the draft resolution before us now, addresses Rwanda's urgent needs and is an adequate response to the wishes of its Government.

In conclusion, I should stress that, once UNAMIR's mandate is finally over, the problem of ensuring the safety and security of the international Commission of Inquiry, the International Tribunal for Rwanda and all United Nations personnel — and of all the other expatriate staff working in the country — becomes all the more important. I must stress that responsibility for this important aspect of the internal situation lies with the Rwandan Government.

Recognizing as it does the need for a continued presence in Rwanda on the part of the international community, the Polish delegation will vote for the draft resolution before the Council now.

I should add that we associate ourselves with the statement made by the representative of Italy on behalf of the European Union.

Mr. Wibisono (Indonesia): My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to keep the Security Council abreast of developments in Rwanda over the course of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). His report (S/1996/149) of 29 February 1996 contains invaluable information about and an analysis of the extent of Rwanda's achievements and the obstacles that it must still overcome if it is to achieve genuine national reconciliation. In a more immediate sense, the report provides the Council with a number of innovative options as we explore and evaluate future opportunities for the United Nations and the international community in Rwanda after UNAMIR's mandate is terminated.

As has been the case with many United Nations operations, UNAMIR shows how much can be achieved when cooperation prevails. It is as a result of the tireless and integrated efforts of the people of Rwanda; of UNAMIR; of other United Nations and international agencies and of non-governmental organizations that the Rwandan people's prospects for hope and peace are today that much brighter and more promising. Indeed, in a relatively short time, Rwanda has come a long way from its destructive civil war and tragic genocide, and this is reflected in the relative calm and stability that generally characterize the situation.

In this regard, my delegation welcomes the progress achieved in restoring basic infrastructure and rehabilitating vital sectors of the economy. We welcome the encouraging statistics from and positive developments in the fields of agriculture, health, industry, transportation and education. In this connection, my delegation calls on the international community to

continue to provide the necessary assistance for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Rwanda's infrastructure.

My delegation has always been of the opinion that dialogue and mutual trust are fundamental prerequisites for providing an environment conducive to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. We therefore encourage the parties within Rwanda to continue their dialogue, which is the appropriate means to promote national reconciliation.

We also attach great importance to the recent visits by officials between Rwanda and its neighbouring countries in the Great Lakes region. We view these increased contacts as valuable because they provide an opportunity to discuss and identify the underlying problems those countries share and to promote the normalization of relations between them.

While my delegation recognizes that substantial progress has indeed been achieved, the picture we painted would, however, be less than accurate and complete if we did not focus on some of the formidable challenges that still confront Rwanda. The most prominent of these is that of repatriating and resettling 1.7 million refugees. We note, however, that many refugees are finding it difficult to return to their homes because of their vivid fears resulting from past atrocities, and because of economic uncertainty. That being the case, my delegation cannot foresee any possibility of long-term peace unless this dire problem is resolved, for the refugee problem is indeed taking a severe toll of the resources of Rwanda's neighbouring States, and this in turn is fostering the general climate of instability. In order better to accommodate and expedite the voluntary return and safe repatriation of refugees, we believe that the Government of Rwanda should do its utmost to provide a climate of confidence, security and trust.

It is my delegation's view that a long-term peace will remain elusive until the perpetrators of genocide are brought to justice. In this connection, we consider the role of the International Tribunal for Rwanda to be indispensable. We therefore attach much importance to protection for its personnel and premises, and hope that the necessary arrangements will be concluded, before UNAMIR's complete withdrawal, between the Government of Rwanda and the United Nations in order to provide sustained protection.

My delegation also wishes to emphasize the need to intensify initiatives to rehabilitate the judicial system. It is our view that a restructured system of justice will be conducive for national reconciliation and the return of refugees. We deem the forthcoming round-table meeting in Geneva, which is to focus on justice and security, capacity-building and the transition from humanitarian assistance to development, to be a step in the right direction. We are also encouraged by the proposed plan by the Rwandan Ministry of Justice to recruit legal advisors, establish special courts to handle genocide cases, and secure greater funding for personnel and equipment.

Alongside ways and means to bolster Rwanda's internal security, my delegation considers the promotion and protection of human rights to be a critical element for the safe repatriation of refugees. Without a doubt, in the absence of basic humanitarian guarantees voluntary repatriation will prove difficult. Given the important role the Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR), together with the International Committee of the Red Cross, are playing in redressing violations of human rights and improving conditions for detainees, my delegation is concerned at the rapid rate of depletion of the voluntary funds needed for them to continue their work. While underlining the Government of Rwanda's intention to maintain HRFOR in Rwanda after UNAMIR's mandate expires, my delegation urgently calls on the international community to provide whatever resources they can to enable HRFOR to continue its activities.

In light of these considerations, my delegation will vote for the draft resolution before the Council today. We believe that the draft resolution provides assurances to Rwanda that the United Nations and the international community will continue to provide assistance by establishing a small political office. It is our view that such an office will prove to be a valuable factor for promoting national reconciliation, strengthening the judicial system, facilitating the return of refugees and rehabilitating Rwanda's infrastructure. In this connection, we commend the positive response by the Government of Rwanda to this proposal, and its acceptance of it, as set forth in the letter from the Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation to the Secretary-General (S/1996/176, annex).

My delegation also believes that a case can be made for permitting Rwanda to retain non-lethal UNAMIR equipment for productive purposes. This equipment, in our view, will be useful for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Rwanda. While we are fully cognizant of the procedures that govern the use of post-mandate

equipment of this kind, we none the less appeal to the General Assembly to be flexible, given the circumstances in Rwanda.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to pay a special tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and all the personnel associated with UNAMIR. Their steadfast determination and ability to rise to the challenge under very difficult circumstances has indeed helped to lay the foundation for securing national reconciliation in Rwanda.

Mr. Martínez Blanco (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation regards it as encouraging that the situation in Rwanda is returning to normal. Little by little, the effects of the terrible tragedy experienced by the country in 1994 are being overcome, as can be seen in the advances achieved in the areas of production, health, public services and education. But the Rwandan Government still faces serious problems whose solution requires assistance from the international community, such as the return of more than a million and a half refugees, the achievement of national reconciliation, the improvement of the judicial system and of prison conditions, and an end to the destabilizing activities of elements of the former Rwandan Government.

We believe that much of the progress achieved thus far is due to the support lent by the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to the restoration of the country's basic infrastructure in the areas of health, sanitation, demining and humanitarian assistance. Moreover, UNAMIR's presence has given representatives of United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations providing humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons a sense of security and confidence, which they need to carry out their work for the recovery of Rwanda.

As UNAMIR's mandate comes to an end, we believe that United Nations assistance will continue to be needed in order to promote a climate of peace in Rwanda and in order to undertake the tasks of rehabilitating and reconstructing the country. We therefore support the initiative of the Secretary-General, rightly reflected in operative paragraph 4 of the draft resolution now before the Council, to the effect that following UNAMIR's withdrawal, there should remain, with the agreement of the Government of Rwanda, a United Nations political presence, through an office to assist the Government in promoting national reconciliation, strengthening the judicial system, facilitating the return of refugees and rehabilitating the country's infrastructure.

The safe, voluntary repatriation of Rwandan refugees and the achievement of genuine national reconciliation are vital. Despite the efforts of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the countries of asylum to speed up the voluntary return of refugees, their flow remains a slow trickle, because of the continued intimidation in the refugee camps resulting from the presence of armed elements of the former Rwandese Government; because of the uncertainty over security in Rwanda; and because of the belief that the justice system is not yet functioning.

We therefore wish to emphasize how enormously important it is for the restoration of peace and for the process of national reconciliation that the Rwandan Government should promote the climate of confidence necessary to facilitate the return of refugees; that the States of the region should act in accordance with the recommendations of the Conferences on Assistance to Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Persons, held in Bujumbura and Addis Ababa; and that efforts should continue to be made to hold a regional conference for peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region.

My delegation believes that the United Nations should continue to play an active role in carrying out the tasks still outstanding in Rwanda, not only in support of the repatriation of refugees and their resettlement, but also in support of justice, human rights and national reconciliation, the creation of an institutional capacity in the country and efforts to rehabilitate the infrastructure. We also believe that it is essential that States and organizations continue their assistance for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country through the United Nations Trust Fund for Rwanda.

For these reasons, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution now before the Council.

I wish to conclude by acknowledging all the efforts made for peace in Rwanda by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, the Commander of the UNAMIR forces and all the civilian and military personnel of the United Nations who have taken part in the Mission.

The President: I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1996/177.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Botswana, Chile, China, Egypt, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1050 (1996).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Dejammet (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation supported the draft resolution that has just been put to the vote. This resolution will enable the Secretary-General to create, with the agreement of the Rwandan authorities, a political office that will succeed the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), whose mandate is ending today.

France would like above all to pay tribute to those who have served the Organization within this operation, which lent valuable assistance to the Rwandan Government in its task of reconstruction and rehabilitation of the country. We salute those who lost their lives in the service of the United Nations in Rwanda.

Since the tragic events of 1994, Rwanda, after a long period of unrest, seems gradually to have regained calm and stability, as testified to by the Secretary-General in his last report. We welcome this development.

Of course, much remains to be done. National reconciliation is still essential. We noted with particular interest the repeated references made by the representative of Rwanda to this urgent need for national reconciliation. This is a crucial effort, for we believe that Rwanda will know peace and stability only when it has found a way of involving in the life of the country all the Rwandans who were devastated by the events of 1994.

In this spirit, the refugee question must be resolved as soon as possible. A country cannot look to the future as long as a quarter of its population is living on its borders, in camps where some are plotting revenge. The Rwandan Government must convince those who could return home to do so, and ensure that they have the security they expect.

It is urgent that the war criminals be brought before the International Tribunal. Thousands of men and women are now in prison, and the suspicions surrounding them must be checked. Sentencing the perpetrators of genocide should make it possible to exonerate many of them.

To carry out all these tasks, the Government of Rwanda wanted the United Nations to maintain only a political office there. We would have preferred, naturally — as the Secretary-General outlined in his report (S/1996/149) — that these tasks should continue to be entrusted to UNAMIR, as we feel that the United Nations operation still had a useful role to play in Rwanda. Through its presence, it could have contributed to accelerating further the return of refugees, a task which has seemed more important with every passing month.

The presence of a political office in Rwanda, however, will enable the United Nations to continue to give assistance to the Government of Rwanda in the areas which we have just mentioned, for the Government of Rwanda will have to go on building up its efforts. National reconciliation in Rwanda implies dialogue with Rwandans outside the country who wish to return, although not, of course, with the perpetrators of genocide. However, there will be no real security in the region either unless all the humanitarian and political problems of the region find an overall solution.

We had this fact in mind when we welcomed the meeting in Cairo of the Heads of State of the countries in the region. We are pleased that the Tunis meeting involved the United Nations as an observer. We continue, for our part, to feel that a Conference on Peace, Security and Development in the Great Lakes Region, under the auspices of the United Nations and in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and bringing together the countries of central Africa and donor countries, would be useful. We hope that this will be the outcome from the negotiations of the group of Five at Tunis.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States): I shall begin by welcoming the Permanent Representative of Rwanda to the United Nations to the Council's deliberations, and express our appreciation for his statement here today. It is good to see him again in the Council Chamber.

Today the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Rwanda draws to a close. Tomorrow the United Nations begins a new era of relations with the Government of Rwanda, a relationship founded on mutual respect for human rights and a mutual commitment to peace.

When the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) was created, it was to oversee a peace agreement, the Arusha Accords. However, the former Rwandese government did not honour the Arusha Accords; instead, Rwanda spiralled downward into the worst genocide in Africa.

Rwanda has not fully recovered from that genocide. Indeed, it will take years for that to happen, especially for Rwanda's children. An article in today's *New York Times*, by Barbara Crossette, is instructive in this regard. It is entitled

> "U.N. Assesses Psychic Scars Left on Rwandan Children by Killings."

The article reports on a survey conducted by the United Nations Children's Fund of 3,000 Rwandan children who witnessed violence up close, more than a quarter of whom saw parents or other family members killed, many of them beaten or hacked to death with machetes. As the *Times* reports, no aspect of the war left children untouched, and experts say that to heal the deep psychological wounds, Rwanda's children will need some sense of community and a taste of normal life. It is my Government's hope that, as we enter the post-UNAMIR period, the international community and the United Nations will be able to help contribute to the sense of community and normalcy that is so desperately needed by Rwanda's children.

Despite formidable obstacles, the Government of Rwanda has made great progress in bringing peace and security to its country. UNAMIR has made a significant contribution to that progress. The international community must continue to help with the hard tasks ahead. The resolution lays a solid foundation for continuing cooperation between the United Nations and Rwanda in a new form. After UNAMIR departs, the United Nations will maintain a political office in Rwanda headed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. The Special Representative will have the authority to coordinate United Nations agencies that will be involved in reconstruction and development activities, and will play an active role to promote national reconciliation. We hope that the Special Representative will vigorously exercise his authority to head the United Nations programme in Rwanda.

There cannot be long-lasting peace and stability for Rwanda — indeed for the entire region — unless the 1.7 million Rwandan refugees return to Rwanda. The Special Representative should encourage repatriation as one of his highest priorities as he coordinates the work of all United Nations agencies in Rwanda, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Development Programme.

Human rights monitors have played an important role in maintaining international confidence in the protection of human rights in Rwanda. It is a significant sign of the commitment of the Government of Rwanda to human rights that it not only accepts human rights monitors in Rwanda, but that it welcomes them and has asked them to stay. This decision is concrete evidence in support of the Government's public statements that it wants all Rwandans to return home.

Rwanda's needs are many. One of them is for justice. We must ensure that sufficient resources are available to the International Tribunal for Rwanda so that it can accomplish its difficult task with as much speed as justice permits. The Tribunal will need additional funds to provide United Nations security guards for its personnel. We welcome the agreement of the Government of Rwanda to allow UNAMIR forces to continue to provide this security during the period of withdrawal. The thousands of prisoners in Rwanda's jails must also receive speedy trials.

We also note the important work of the Commission of Inquiry to investigate reports of the sale or supply of arms to former Rwandan government forces. The Commission has been doing excellent work and is also fulfilling an important deterrent function, but the Commission has not had the benefit of full cooperation from all Rwanda's neighbours. We call on all States to offer the Commission their fullest support.

As the UNAMIR mandate expires and the draw-down of personnel enters its final phase, we note that differences remain between the Secretariat and the Government of Rwanda concerning the disposition of equipment, and concerning financing. We urge them to resolve those differences as soon as possible on a mutually satisfactory basis so that they will not interfere with the work of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and his political office as the new relationship of the United Nations and the Government of

Rwanda begins. The new relationship should start off on the right foot for all concerned.

Today's resolution marks an important, positive step in the journey of the Rwandan people out of the abyss of genocide. The international community is replacing soldiers with teachers and trainers to help with the new challenges. The new United Nations political office is a symbol both of how far the Rwandan people have come and of our commitment to help them go the rest of the way. We look forward to a future when all the Rwandan people live together in peace.

Lastly, on behalf of the United States Government, I would like to pay a tribute to all the United Nations personnel who have served in UNAMIR, under difficult and at times dangerous conditions, and especially the leadership provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, and the gallantry of the Force Commanders, two brave soldiers of Canada, General Romeo Dallaire and General Guy Tousignant.

Mr. Awaad (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: The Security Council has just adopted a very sensitive resolution concerning the withdrawal of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) from that country, a fraternal African country that has witnessed one of the most terrible human tragedies in contemporary history. Like the wide-ranging discussion about the role the international community should play in preventing the terrible massacres and genocide we saw in Rwanda the year before last, today we have had an equally wide-ranging discussion on whether or not now is the right time for UNAMIR to withdraw.

However, as members of the Security Council we must respond to the request of the Rwandan Government and withdraw the Mission. It is for the Rwandan Government to make that decision, and we must respect it.

Although the Security Council has decided to end the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda, our attention should not be diverted from one fact: if, for whatever reason, the international community failed to prevent the massacres, the presence of the United Nations in Rwanda after the crisis was very useful. This has been proved by United Nations assistance in protecting those repatriated to Rwanda; in re-establishing the infrastructure to provide health and education services; in training the police force; and in demining.

The Egyptian delegation takes this opportunity to pay tribute to the role of the United Nations and its specialized agencies in extending relief and humanitarian assistance to the people of Rwanda in their trials and tribulations.

The Egyptian delegation expresses its full appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General of 29 February 1996 on the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda. The report contains a precise and objective analysis of events in Rwanda over the past two months at the political, humanitarian and military levels. The report also contains a vision of the future role of the United Nations in Rwanda — a role which, in our opinion, is no less important than the positive role played from the beginning of the UNAMIR mission in October 1993 until the present. Indeed, it is a source of satisfaction for us that the report of the Secretary-General states that relative calm and stability prevail in most areas of Rwanda, with the exception of areas close to the borders, and that promising progress is being made in the areas of agriculture, health services and education.

We agree with the Secretary-General's assessment of the issues which are still faced by the Government of Rwanda, and which need to be dealt with. First, the Government of Rwanda must assume its responsibilities in facilitating the repatriation of more than 1.7 million refugees, re-establishing them in their country and guaranteeing their safety and property. That will be a very difficult and complex task. However, it is the key to stability in Rwanda. Secondly, Rwanda needs to make real and rapid progress towards achieving national reconciliation among all its people, and establishing the principles of tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Thirdly, Rwanda must take effective measures to ensure law enforcement and strengthen the judicial system.

Despite the concrete efforts made by the Government of Rwanda and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, solving the first problem will be difficult, given the number of refugees and the obstacles to their return. Paragraph 45 of the report of the Secretary-General refers to the negative role played by elements of the former Rwandan army and organized militias in intimidating refugees and preventing their return. However, we must also understand the refugees' fear and their reluctance to return because of the lack of security within Rwanda. That is a national problem, and we believe that the Government of Rwanda bears the greatest responsibility for finding a solution.

The concern of the Egyptian delegation throughout the negotiations over the resolution we have just adopted was to underline the particular responsibility of the Government of Rwanda with regard to the return of refugees, especially during the post-UNAMIR period. The fact that the resolution does not specifically and clearly refer to guarantees for the return of the refugees does not mean that the Security Council will not take the necessary steps to safeguard their rights if the Council deems it necessary in the future. That is why it is essential that a climate conducive to the voluntary return of the refugees be established through confidence-building and other measures, such as the provision of constructive information, and innovative ideas, such as organizing visits across the border and the monitoring necessary to guarantee property and safe return.

As for the role of the United Nations after the departure of UNAMIR, we fully support the establishment of an office in Kigali to provide assistance, as referred to in paragraph 43 (a) of the Secretary-General's report. It is encouraging that the Government of Rwanda has abandoned its former reservations in this respect and is ready to facilitate the role of the political office and to provide necessary assistance. We hope that we shall receive regular reports on developments.

Egypt has always affirmed that Rwanda cannot achieve stability without the regional and geographical dimensions being borne in mind. The problems faced by Rwanda today, foremost among them the refugee problem, have an impact that goes beyond the Great Lakes region. Solving those problems requires regional cooperation, with international support. We believe that the refugee problem in particular has a regional dimension, and that neighbouring countries should further extend their cooperation and coordination in this respect. We hope that the contacts which have taken place over the past two months between Rwanda and its neighbours will be a first step towards closer cooperation in the near future.

Egypt reaffirms its belief that any attempted solutions which disregard that fact can only be placebos, and not real answers. All those efforts, which were partly successful, to ensure the return of refugees were made by the United Nations within the context of collective cooperation between Rwanda, Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire.

As we are firmly convinced of these facts, the delegation of Egypt wishes to stress the need to ensure complete implementation of the decisions of the Bujumbura Conference, the Cairo Summit and the Addis Ababa follow-up conference held on 29 February last. We wish also to stress the importance of extending all possible assistance in all efforts to convene an international conference on peace, stability and development in the Great Lakes region, following the necessary preparatory work.

I wish in conclusion to note that the experience of the United Nations in Rwanda has taught us a critical lesson about the importance of preventive diplomacy and the need to remain committed to preventive measures in averting crises. Unfortunately, this Organization never had the equipment, the staff or the political will necessary to intervene successfully to prevent the human tragedy we witnessed in Rwanda. That situation must never be repeated.

The Egyptian delegation voted in favour of the resolution the Security Council has just adopted, despite the concerns we have expressed about ensuring and facilitating the return of refugees. We did so in solidarity with the Government of Rwanda and to support that Government in all its endeavours to establish stability. We hope that future developments will be positive and will dispel our concerns and fears, and that the people of Rwanda will overcome this crisis and embark on the road to development in all economic and social areas.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Botswana.

On 12 December 1995 the Security Council adopted resolution 1029 (1995), which, *inter alia*, adjusted the mandate of the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) and extended it for a final period until 8 March 1996. This was done in keeping with the formally expressed wishes of the Government of Rwanda. I must confess that my delegation was one of those which did not favour a precipitate departure of UNAMIR from Rwanda. We are therefore delighted that the United Nations will continue to play a significant role in assisting the Government of Rwanda to address the crucial issues of national reconciliation, the return and resettlement of refugees, and the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the socio-economic infrastructure of the country.

It was precisely because we realized that Rwanda still needed the assistance of the international community in these areas that we were reluctant to support an abrupt withdrawal of UNAMIR. Botswana is gratified that the Security Council has maintained its unanimity on this issue, which is of vital importance to the peace, security and stability of the Great Lakes region. It is our hope that the Government of Rwanda will continue to cooperate with the United Nations for the benefit of the *Banyarwanda*.

It is clear from the foregoing that the end of UNAMIR's mandate does not in any way imply that the difficulties and challenges facing the Government and the people of Rwanda are over. The return of the refugees will obviously be one of the most intractable of these challenges. Botswana strongly believes that there can be no peace and stability in Rwanda so long as one third of its population lives in refugee camps in neighbouring countries. Concerted efforts are required to ensure the early return of the 1.7 million refugees. We note the tremendous efforts being made by the Government of Rwanda in the promotion of national reconciliation and in rebuilding a country shattered by one of the worst acts of human behaviour ever witnessed in the latter part of this century. They deserve our commendation for the successes they have scored so far in very difficult circumstances. The Rwandese should now engage in earnest in the process of consolidating the relative peace and stability that now obtain in the country and in the building of a new society based on justice and the rule of law.

In this connection, the strengthening of the judicial system is one of the key elements in the whole process. The continuing support of the international community will be crucial all the way. "Post-genocide peace-building" in Rwanda remains the primary concern and a major responsibility for both the Government of Rwanda and the international community. Recent experience has shown that while peace cannot, or should not, be built without justice, the presumption of innocence of the accused remains the cornerstone of any fair judicial system.

My delegation has on several occasions in the past stated that the problems facing Rwanda have subregional dimensions which must be addressed urgently by the countries of the Great Lakes region. The return of the refugees, for instance, can proceed smoothly only if there is close consultation and cooperation with the States hosting them. It is an established fact that there is rampant intimidation in the refugee camps by elements of the former Government against those intending to return to Rwanda. The same elements also harbour ill intentions of undertaking military incursions into Rwanda. The international community must make it abundantly clear to these elements that the withdrawal of UNAMIR does not in any way mean the abrogation of the measures it undertook through the relevant Security Council resolutions to bring an end to intimidation in the refugee camps and to the military activities against Rwanda. In fact, the arms embargo imposed under resolution 918 (1994) and extended to Rwandese nationals in neighbouring States by resolution 1011 (1995) remains in force.

The Security Council still awaits a report of the International Commission of Inquiry, which was established to

> "investigate reports relating to the sale or supply of arms and related materiel to former Rwandan Government forces ... in violation of Council resolutions 918 (1994), 997 (1995) and 1011 (1995)". (*resolution 1013 (1995), para. 1 (a)*)

All these measures can be implemented robustly only with the full cooperation of the neighbouring countries. In this context, the recent return by the Government of Zaire of some military equipment to Rwanda was a welcome development. We hope that it will have a salutary effect on the search for solutions of the remaining issues, especially the return of the refugees, and that it will mark a new era of rapprochement between the two brotherly countries.

My delegation would be in favour of the convening of a regional conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the active participation of the Organization of African Unity. There is a great deal of international good will aimed at seeking a lasting solution to the problems of the Great Lakes region. The European Union, the Carter Center and former President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere have undertaken political and diplomatic efforts aimed at finding common ground on the convening of the conference. We fully support these commendable efforts and hope that the considerable time and energy expended in this endeavour, especially by former President Nyerere, will be crowned with success.

In conclusion, let me extend Botswana's congratulations to the men and women of UNAMIR for their contribution to the cause of peace in Rwanda. It was a mission haunted by an unfortunate past — events that everyone wishes had never happened and will never happen again — yet they made the best of that past that they could.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.